UNITED
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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3243
18 June 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 18 June 1993, at 4.10 p.m.

President:	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO	(Spain)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO
	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. FELIX-PAGANON
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. SHIGEIE
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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93-86167 4678V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 4.10 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

FOLLOW UP TO RESOLUTION 817 (1993)

LETTER DATED 26 MAY 1993 FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/25855 and Add.1 and 2)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them documents S/25855 and Add.1 and 2, which contain the text of a letter dated 26 May 1993 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council together with various additional documents and annexes.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25968, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/25892, which contains the text of a letter dated 7 June 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Albania to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put draft resolution S/25968 to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 845 (1993).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 4.15 p.m.

UNITED
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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3244
22 June 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 22 June 1993, at 3.30 p.m.

President:	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO	(Spain)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. BUDAI
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. ZAHID
	New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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93-86179 4701V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 4 p.m.

EXPRESSION OF WELCOME TO HIS EXCELLENCY MR. COLIN KEATING, NEW REPRESENTATIVE OF NEW ZEALAND ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like at the outset of the meeting to extend, on behalf of the Council, a warm welcome to the new representative of New Zealand on the Security Council, His Excellency Mr. Colin Keating. We look forward to cooperating with him in the Council's work.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted

THE SITUATION CONCERNING RWANDA

INTERIM REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON RWANDA (S/25810 and Add.1)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Rwanda in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bizimana (Rwanda) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the interim report of the Secretary-General on Rwanda (S/25810 and Add.1).

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25981, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/25536, letter dated 2 April 1993 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/25797, letter dated 18 May 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Uganda to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/25951, letter dated 14 June 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Rwanda to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution (S/25981) to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has thus been adopted unanimously as resolution 846 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): My delegation welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 846 (1993), by which the Council decides to establish the United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR), and thus, at the request of the Governments of the two countries, to send observers to the Rwanda-Uganda border to verify that no transit of military equipment takes place.

I pay a tribute to the positive attitude and desire for peace of the Government of Uganda, which has agreed that in view of the circumstances the observers should be deployed only on its side of the border.

My Government is eager to preserve stability in Rwanda and throughout the region, and to forstall a resumption of hostilities, which could result in further massacres in view of the persistent mistrust and ethnic rivalry; we consider that the Council's decision today sends the parties a clear signal regarding the international community's commitment and its determination that this conflict should be resolved by non-military means.

I should like to say that my Government, which has consistently advocated a political solution of the conflict in Rwanda, can only welcome the coming signing of the Arusha agreements between the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front. These agreements were reached under the auspices of

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

the Organisation of African Unity and the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania; to them we pay a tribute. My Government thinks it important to consider in due course the contribution the international community might make to the implementation of the agreements. We think that the presence of UNOHUR, which is a first confidence-building measure aimed at easing tension, could create a favourable climate and enhance the implementation of this overall peace agreement.

Indeed, we think that United Nations intervention, now requested by both parties, is a precondition for the success of a lasting settlement of the conflict in Rwanda. Moreover, it is perfectly in keeping with the Secretary-General's approach of support for the efforts of regional organizations.

France hopes that the process of national reconciliation will proceed actively in Rwanda, and we appeal to the parties to conclude the Arusha agreements, which will make it possible to restore peace and stability to Rwanda.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.10 p.m.

UNITED
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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3245
27 June 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Sunday, 27 June 1993, at 5.10 p.m.

President:	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO	(Spain)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO
	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. ZAHID
	New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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93-86191 4715V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 5.10 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

UNITED STATES NOTIFICATION OF 26 JUNE 1993 MEASURES AGAINST IRAQ

LETTER DATED 26 JUNE 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/26003)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Iraq in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Hamdoon (Iraq) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in response to the request contained in a letter dated 26 June 1993 from the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/26003.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/26004, which contains the text of a letter dated 27 June 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

(The President)

The first speaker on my list is the representative of the United States of America, on whom I now call.

Mrs. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): Mr. President, I come to the Council today to brief you on a grave and urgent matter: an attempt to murder a President of the United States by the intelligence service of the Government of Iraq, a Member of the United Nations. Even by the standards of an Iraqi regime known for its brutality against its neighbours and its own people, this is an outrage. The attempt against President George Bush's life during his visit to Kuwait last April was an attack on the United States of America. I am not asking the Council for any action, but, in our judgement, every Member here today would regard an assassination attempt against its former Head of State as an attack against itself, and would react.

Let me begin by reviewing the events in question. On April 14 1993, while President Bush was beginning a three-day visit to Kuwait City, Kuwaiti authorities thwarted a terrorist plot, seizing a powerful car bomb and other explosives and arresting 16 suspects. The ringleaders of this plot were two Iraqi nationals.

Over the next two months, American law enforcement, forensic and intelligence professionals conducted a meticulous and exhaustive investigation of this incident. They conducted detailed forensic examinations of the bombs and devices. Through the cooperation of the Kuwaiti Government, they had independent access to all the suspects in the case. They interviewed all involved several times. The process took time. There was no rush to judgement.

Based upon that investigation, the United States Department of Justice and the Central Intelligence Agency have concluded that Iraq planned, equipped and launched the terrorist operation that threatened the life of an American

(Mrs. Albright, United States)

President. Further, it is the firm judgement of the United States intelligence community, based on all the sources of evidence available to it, that this assassination plot was directed and pursued by the Iraqi intelligence service, an arm of the Government of Saddam Hussein. The evidence that supports these conclusions includes forensic data, interviews with the suspects and other intelligence. The physical evidence is most impressive, and I shall take some time to describe it to you.

A car bomb hidden in a Toyota Landcruiser was smuggled across the Iraq-Kuwait border by the suspects during the night of 13 April 1993. This bomb, and the other explosives that were seized by the Kuwaiti authorities, have been directly examined by Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) forensic experts. In their judgement, key components - including the remote-controlled firing device, the plastic explosives, the blasting cap, the integrated circuitry and the wiring - were built by the same person or persons who built bombs previously recovered from the Iraqis. Certain aspects of these devices have been found only in devices linked to Iraq and not in devices used by any other terrorist group.

Similarly, the other explosives seized in the plot, including so-called "cube bombs", contained components built by the same person or persons who built similar devices recovered in the past from the Iraqi intelligence service.

Let me show you some photographs that demonstrate the identical nature of the evidence seized in Kuwait with photos of Iraqi devices found elsewhere.

The first photo is of the vehicle, a Toyota Landcruiser, that was turned into a car bomb by concealing approximately 80 kilograms of explosives in the vehicle's body panels.

The second photo shows the concealed wiring that was part of the bomb.

(Mrs. Albright, United States)

This is a sophisticated device possessing devastating power. It was well hidden in the vehicle and constructed to allow detonation by remote control, by a timer or manually. The forensic experts have concluded that this bomb had a lethal radius of 400 yards: it would kill people occupying a four-square-block area. Hundreds of innocent people would have died.

The third set of photos shows that the front of the radio-controlled firing system found in Kuwait and, above it, the front of another device recovered from an earlier terrorist bomb known to be of Iraqi origin. Even an untrained eye can see that these are identical except for the serial numbers.

Next, we have a similar comparison of the insides of the two firing devices. The bottom photo is of the device found in Kuwait. As you can see, the selection of the components and the construction techniques in the two devices, including soldering, the use of connectors and the wiring techniques, are also identical.

The fifth set of photos shows a comparison of the undersides of the two firing devices. Again you can see the obvious similarity of the circuit boards.

Finally, the last photograph shows the smaller "cube bombs" that were also seized by the Kuwaitis. The "cube bombs" contained the same type of integrated circuitry that was found in earlier-known Iraqi terrorist devices.

In addition to this graphic evidence, we have the results of the interrogations of the suspects. The FBI conducted extensive interviews of all 16 suspects now on trial in Kuwait. The two main suspects are Iraqi nationals. They told the FBI that they had been recruited and received orders in Basra, Iraq, from individuals associated with the Iraqi intelligence service. They said that the Iraqis provided them with the car bomb and other explosive devices on 10 April 1993.

(Mrs. Albright, United States)

One of the suspects said that he had been recruited for the specific purpose of assassinating President Bush. The other main suspect told the FBI that he had been instructed to guide the first suspect with the car bomb to Kuwait University, where President Bush and the Emir of Kuwait were scheduled to appear, and to plant smaller explosives elsewhere in Kuwait.

During and immediately after the Persian Gulf War the Saddam Hussein Government - through its controlled media - indicated that Iraq would hunt down and punish President Bush, even after he left office. Since then various classified intelligence sources support the conclusion of our investigation that the Iraqi Government ordered this terrorist attack against President Bush.

From all the evidence available to our intelligence community, we are therefore highly confident that the Iraqi Government, at its highest levels, directed its intelligence services to carry out an assassination attempt against President Bush.

As President Clinton indicated last night, this was a direct attack on the United States, an attack that required a direct United States response.

Consequently, President Clinton yesterday instructed the United States Armed Forces to carry out a military operation against the headquarters of the Iraqi Intelligence Service in Baghdad. We responded directly, as we are entitled to do under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, which provides for the exercise of self-defence in such cases. Our response has been proportionate and aimed at a target directly linked to the operation against President Bush. It was designed to damage the terrorist infrastructure of the Iraqi regime, reduce its ability to promote terrorism and deter further acts of aggression against the United States.

(Mrs. Albright, United States)

Let me say a word about the Iraqi intelligence apparatus. To survive in power, the Iraqi regime depends upon the fear created by its intelligence infrastructure, renowned for its brutality. The Iraqi Intelligence Service, the largest part of this infrastructure, has responsibility for investigating and acting against any suspected disloyalty to Saddam Hussein. It is also responsible for conducting terrorism abroad, as it tried to do in this case, and for directing terror against Saddam's opponents at home.

We are all aware of the many acts of terror carried out by the Iraqi Intelligence Service against United Nations relief convoys in northern Iraq, and on United Nations personnel and humanitarian aid workers in Iraq. This Iraqi Intelligence Service has also carried out assassinations of Iraqis seeking to escape Saddam's dictatorship, including a cold-blooded murder in Amman, Jordan, last year. The Iraqi Intelligence Service has been a major participant in the perpetration of Saddam's war crimes during the occupation of Kuwait and the regime's crimes against humanity at home. The Iraqi Intelligence Service headquarters building that was the target of last night's attack is the nerve centre of the Iraqi Intelligence Service, the hub for all its activities.

Let me stress one point in particular. Our action is not directed against the Iraqi people. For far too long they have suffered under the yoke of the tyrannical repression of Saddam Hussein's regime. The United States looks forward to the day when that criminal regime is no longer able to oppress the Iraqi people and the Iraqi nation can take its rightful place again among the family of nations.

Let me also say this: we regret the loss of civilian life. However, one should keep in mind that had the Iraqi attempt in Kuwait succeeded hundreds of civilians could have died.

(Mrs. Albright, United States)

This specific incident was between Iraq and the United States directly, which is why we acted alone. Only United States forces were involved. Our military action yesterday was aimed specifically at the instruments of terror that mounted the campaign against President Bush.

Nevertheless, although we took action under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, there is a broader context of which members of the Security Council are only too well aware. Since its invasion of Kuwait on 2 August 1990 Iraq has repeatedly and consistently refused to comply with the resolutions of this Council. Only a few days ago the Council found Iraq again to be in material breach of Security Council resolution 687 (1991).

The Iraqi regime today refuses to meet the requirements of the United Nations Special Commission on a range of matters relating to the destruction of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missile programmes.

The Iraqi regime refuses to accept Security Council resolution 715 (1991), which mandates long-term monitoring of these weapons programmes.

The Iraqi regime rejects the delineation of the Kuwait-Iraq boundary.

The Iraqi regime continues to repress its own people, in violation of Security Council resolution 688 (1991), instead choosing to impose a policy of economic deprivation and even blockade on some of its citizens.

And the Iraqi regime refuses to accept Security Council resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991), which would allow Iraq to sell oil to meet the needs of its own citizens, a monumental act of abuse and disregard of the suffering of the Iraqi people.

My Government's policy remains constant: we insist on full Iraqi compliance with all United Nations resolutions. Through a policy of firmness and consistency, including readiness to use force if necessary, the

(Mrs. Albright, United States)

international community must frustrate Iraq's efforts to ignore the will of the Council.

The international community has spoken with one voice in insisting that Iraq abide by the principles of the United Nations Charter. We ignore a crime of this magnitude at our collective peril as members of an international society that seeks to uphold the role of law. While the incident we are discussing today is an issue between Iraq and the United States, it should lead all nations represented here to redouble their resolve to ensure that the criminal regime in Baghdad is never again able to disturb the peace to which this institution is dedicated.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish). The next speaker is the representative of Iraq, on whom I now call.

Mr. HAMDOON (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. President, in the last days of your presidency of the Council, I cannot but pay tribute to your wisdom and skill in conducting the Council's work during the current month.

It also gives me great pleasure to pay tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Vorontsov of the Russian Federation, for the way in which he presided over the Council's work last month.

Between 1 a.m. and 2 a.m. Baghdad local time today, 27 June, the United States of America committed another act of aggression against Iraq. United States forces fired 23 Tomahawk cruise missiles on the Iraqi Intelligence Headquarters located in the capital, Baghdad. Some of the missiles fell on residential quarters in the Al Mansur and Mamoon neighbourhoods. This caused the martyrdom of a number of civilians in the buildings neighbouring the Intelligence Headquarters, and injured a large number of civilians, including women and children.

(Mr. Hamdoon, Iraq)

In addition to the infliction of severe damage on residential buildings and civilian installations, I have also found out that a former colleague of mine, an Iraqi artist, well-known in all art circles of the world, Mrs. Leila Al Attar, was martyred with her husband while they were asleep in their house in that neighbourhood. May God lead them to Paradise.

(Mr. Hamdoon, Iraq)

Surely, these people had nothing to do with the Government facility; they were merely two Iraqi citizens who lived in Baghdad, which has become the target of acts that we and many others believe are not justified under international law or international norms.

The United States has tried to justify its aggression by linking it to the story of the alleged attempt to assassinate former President Bush. That story was completely fabricated by the Kuwaiti regime for well-known purposes relating to its policy towards Iraq and with a view to damaging and harming my country. It is to be noted that for similar purposes certain organs within the United States Administration found in this story a pretext for an act of aggression against Iraq in pursuance of the United States policy of containment against Iraq and its role.

The Government of Iraq has denied, and continues to deny, any role with respect to the alleged attempt. The Government of Iraq challenges the parties concerned to come up with any clear evidence acceptable to an impartial third party. Here I recall the infamous story of the incubators, which was fabricated by the Kuwaiti Government together with a public relations firm during the lead-up to the final decision to launch a war against Iraq.

The United States Government has accused and sentenced Iraq, and has carried out its sentence, all without providing evidence against it or inviting it to clarify its position. That sheds a clear light on the true intentions and objectives of that Government. The rules of international law, which the United States claims to respect, give it no right to overlook the principle of due process of law or the provisions of the Charter.

(Mr. Haedoon, Iraq)

With this act of aggression, the United States of America has breached its responsibility as a permanent member of the Security Council and has violated the norms of international law and of the Charter. The truth is that today's aggression is just one more page in the history of the United States policy of aggression against Iraq, a policy aimed at gaining control of the region and subjugating it to its will. This act of aggression is stark evidence of the United States policy of hegemony in today's world. On the basis of a groundless accusation, Cruise missiles were fired on Baghdad, a city of 4 million, murdering peaceful inhabitants without advance warning. This act of aggression shows that one consideration underlying the United States position may be achieving a so-called victory to be exploited for domestic and international political purposes.

We believe that the Security Council must not allow some of its members, by taking military action, to usurp the Council's principal role of maintaining international peace and security. That could escalate into a very serious situation threatening peace and security world-wide and could impose on the world an unprecedented case of blackmail and terrorism.

For months there have been instigations against Iraq; threats have become the method of dealing with Iraq and the context for certain parties and certain bodies to impose policies upon us by force, all under the pretext of international legitimacy - naturally without giving Iraq a fair opportunity to explain its position. Anything Iraq says to try to create an objective context for the implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council is viewed by some as a departure from, and violation of, those resolutions, and justification for continuing the embargo against Iraq. They overlook the fact

(Mr. Hamdoon, Iraq)

that the carrying out in practice of States' obligations requires the taking into account of the views of those States regarding the question of implementation. Nothing in the Charter precludes that.

Iraq is a founding Member of the United Nations, and it has both rights and duties under the Charter. The resolutions of the Security Council cannot deny it its rights. Today Iraq appeals to the Council to safeguard its rights as a Member State and calls upon it to condemn this act of aggression and take the action necessary to prevent a repetition in the future.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): At the outset, my delegation wishes to thank the Permanent Representative of the United States for the explanation she has just given the Security Council regarding the action taken in the name of the right to self-defence set out in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. My delegation appreciates the fact that the United States Government has set before the Council the elements that led it to conclude that the Iraqi Government was directly involved in the preparation of an attempt against the life of a former President of the United States during his recent visit to Kuwait, an attempt that my country's Government has condemned.

I wish also to stress the importance my Government attaches to the explanation we have just received regarding the fact that the United States response was proportionate to the action of the Iraqi secret service.

The French Government fully understands the reaction of the United States and the reasons for the unilateral action by United States forces, in the circumstances under which it was carried out. Having always condemned all forms of terrorism, my Government approves policies that combat it.

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

I wish to take the opportunity of this formal meeting to recall France's policy towards Iraq - quite apart from this episode. The French Government seeks neither the destabilization nor the dismemberment of the Iraqi State, whose territorial integrity is a factor for regional balance. We support United Nations action to induce the Iraqi Government to moderate its behaviour and, fulfilling all the obligations imposed on it by the resolutions of the Security Council, to renounce all aggressive and terrorist conduct and cease to be a threat to the security of the region and of the world.

My delegation reiterates that it has no other objective, but that, in close cooperation with the other members of the Council, it will pursue that objective with unfailing determination.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): I have listened carefully to the explanations given by Ambassador Albright and Ambassador Hamdoon. I have taken particular note of the statement by Ambassador Albright that the United States Government had compelling evidence of the direct involvement of the Iraqi Government in the attempted assassination of former United States President George Bush. Given such circumstances, my Government considers that there existed an unavoidable situation in which the United States Government could not help but take action.

We condemn the involvement of the Government of Iraq in this unlawful assassination attempt. Further, we deplore the pattern of intransigent behaviour of the Government of Iraq in ignoring relevant Security Council resolutions. My Government has consistently opposed State-supported terrorism in all its forms, and we now consider it important to discuss cooperation within the United Nations to find specific measures to cope with such international terrorism.

Mr. BARBOSA (Cape Verde): On behalf of the non-aligned countries that are members of the Security Council, I would like to read out the following statement:

"The members of the Security Council belonging to the Group of Non-Aligned Countries - namely, Cape Verde, Djibouti, Morocco, Pakistan and Venezuela - have taken note of the information provided by the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations concerning the measures taken by the Government of the United States in response to the assassination plot against former President George Bush. This is a subject which is of the utmost concern to the members of the Caucus.

(Mr. Barbosa, Cape Verde)

"The Caucus is firmly opposed to, and condemns, terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, whether directed or promoted by or against individuals or States. In this context, the Caucus was particularly concerned at the reported Iraqi intelligence plan to assassinate the former President of the United States during his visit to Kuwait.

"The members of the Caucus urge the exercise of restraint by all States, consistent with the principles of the Charter and in particular for the maintenance of international peace and security and the avoidance of the use of force inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

"The members of the Caucus stand for the full and faithful implementation of all Security Council resolutions and believe that they should be implemented in a non-discriminatory manner in the interests of preserving the credibility and moral authority of the Security Council.

"The Governments and peoples of our countries deeply regret the loss of life caused by the attacks on the Iraqi intelligence headquarters in Baghdad."

Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): The Brazilian Government is following with grave concern the situation which prompted the convening of this urgent meeting of the Security Council. We have taken note of the information conveyed to the Council by the United States Government on the military action it decided to undertake, in exceptional circumstances, in response to the recent assassination attempt against former President George Bush. We also note that the United States Government has stated that it considered such action necessary, as a last resort, with a view to preventing the further occurrence of such acts.

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

It is with particular concern that we take note of the fact that the United States Government indicates that there is clear and compelling evidence of the involvement of the Government of Iraq in the assassination attempt, a violation of the most basic norms of international behaviour.

The Brazilian Government has repeatedly and unequivocally condemned, in the strongest possible terms, all terrorist acts and attempts to commit such criminal acts. International terrorism - and in particular State terrorism - poses an extremely serious threat to the efforts of the United Nations to ensure peace and security. It is utterly unjustifiable under any circumstances and calls for strong and effective responses by the international community.

The alarming situation characterized by the information conveyed to this Council is an extraordinarily serious one involving the loss of innocent lives in Iraq, which we deeply regret. It is our hope that this situation will be dealt with in such a way as to strengthen the long-term efforts of the United Nations to combat international terrorism in all its forms and to promote the rule of law among nations.

Mr. ERDOS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): The action taken by the United States yesterday in Baghdad was justified, according to the information available to us, by the grave nature of the latest instance of the Government of Iraq's behaviour on the international scene. As we know, this behaviour has been on the Security Council's agenda for some time. We regret that we are not able to detect any promising signs out of Baghdad of a positive development in Iraq's attitude in response to the positions taken by the international community.

The response to the investigation undertaken following the discovery of a plot aimed at carrying out an act of State terrorism against the former

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

President of the United States was firm and unequivocal. Its declared purpose was to deter other similar actions in the future and to ensure that the principles of civilized behaviour shall prevail in the world. We have always held that those who concoct such plans and attempt to defy the basic norms of international law and international humanitarian law should know that their acts will not go unpunished or without response. In its turn, the people of the world - and especially those who bear a particular responsiblity for the maintenance of international peace and security - should know that if they do not act and react on the basis of the rights and duties set out in the United Nations Charter, terrorism and aggression will have free rein and will inevitably introduce the law of the jungle into the world.

We are pleased with the United States commitment to fight terrorism and deter aggression in the world. On this occasion, we express our conviction that the international community, strengthened by this United States position, possesses the highest moral values, and that it has the necessary potential and can summon the determination necessary to thwart such actions wherever they take place and to assure all people, wherever they live, of a secure and better future, safe from those who try to violate the will of the United Nations.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The Chinese delegation has taken note of the information given by Ambassador Albright of the United States.

China's position of opposition to terrorism is well known to all. The Chinese delegation is deeply concerned about what took place yesterday and deeply regrets the civilian casualties caused thereby.

China has always held that disputes between or among countries should be settled through peaceful means of dialogue and consultation. We are opposed to any action that can contravene the Charter of the United Nations and norms of international relations. We do not endorse any action that might intensify the tension in the region, including the use of force.

It is our hope that the parties concerned can exercise restraint, in order to avoid a further deterioration of the situation.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): In the view of the British Government, the action that has been taken by the United States Administration is proper and proportionate. I should like to thank the Ambassador of the United States for the very careful way in which, on her Government's instructions, she explained to us this afternoon the event that lay behind this action.

When news of this action was received, the views of my Government were in fact set out in a Government statement which said:

> "The United States Government has clear evidence of the involvement of the Iraqi intelligence services in the assassination attempt. We regard the American response as entirely justified. We believe that State terrorism must be met with an unambiguous response and must be deterred by all proper and legitimate means."

(Sir David Hannay,
United Kingdom)

In addition to that statement, I should like to draw attention to two other points in the context of the present matter.

First of all, under paragraph 32 of Security Council resolution 687 (1991), Iraq was required to give an undertaking that it would in no way support State terrorism. It gave that undertaking on paper. The facts that have been put before us this afternoon must leave us in considerable doubt whether that undertaking had any reality, apart from being on paper.

Secondly, when the Security Council met at the level of Heads of State or Government on 31 January 1992, the members of the Council stated unanimously in the presidential statement at the end of that meeting that State terrorism was a threat to international peace and security. That statement stands today, as it stood then, and the present response is a mark of that.

My Government hopes that the deterrent effect of this legitimate response will reinforce the fight against State terrorism.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): We are grateful to the Permanent Representative of the United States, Ambassador Albright, for the detailed information she has given us.

We listened closely and attentively to the statement made by the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations, Ambassador Hamdoon.

In the view of the Russian leadership, the actions by the United States are justified since they arise from the right of States to individual and collective self-defence, in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

We hope that a mutually acceptable solution will be reached without any kind of military escalation in regard to this bilateral problem.

Mr. KEATING (New Zealand): Any nation that seeks to assassinate the Head of State or a member of the senior political leadership of another State commits an act of aggression. Such actions are at the most serious end of the scale because Heads of State symbolize the sovereignty and integrity of their country.

Such actions are all the more reprehensible when terrorism is the chosen instrument.

We appreciate the fact that the United States has promptly informed the Security Council of the action it has taken. We are also very grateful to the representative of the United States for the careful and detailed explanation of the evidence that is available to the United States Government that Iraq had planned and commenced an attempt to assassinate President Bush. We have not had an opportunity to study the evidence in detail, but we do know about the professionalism and the public accountability of the United States law-enforcement authorities.

My country can understand why, faced with the evidence of a serious act of aggression and faced with the fact that the proposed means for this aggression was an act of brutal terrorism in which innocent civilians stood to lose their lives, any country would feel obliged to consider responding with force.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Spain.

I must begin by expressing our appreciation for the initiative taken by the United States in coming to the Security Council to provide information regarding the action taken yesterday over Baghdad, and to explain the motives that impelled the United States to take this decision.

(The President)

From the information given by the United States it is clear that there is sufficient reason to deduce that there was an assassination attempt against former President Bush and that the Iraqi intelligence services were behind that attempt - which, fortunately, was thwarted.

This is extremely serious. The fact that a country's secret services conspire and make preparations to assassinate the former Head of State of another State, in the territory of a third State, constitutes in itself a serious violation of international law and, at the same time, is a threat to the security of all.

This kind of behaviour is intolerable and must be met with an attitude of firm rejection on the part of the international community.

Spain roundly condemns any manifestation of terrorism, especially when - as in this case - agents of a foreign State are involved. Hence, we express our sympathy for and solidarity with the Governments of the United States and Kuwait, which have been directly affected by the machinations and actions of the Iraqi secret services.

In this case, moreover, those actions come on top of others undertaken or carried out over the past several years by the Government of Iraq, and they come together to form a picture of contempt for the norms that govern the coexistence of States and of defiance of the decisions and demands repeatedly expressed by the Security Council, acting on behalf of the international community.

In this light, we understand the action the United States Government felt forced to take in the exceptional circumstances of this case. We regret that it has been necessary to resort to these extreme measures, and especially that, despite the precautions taken to avoid civilian casualties, there have been some.

(The President)

We take careful note of the explanations given by the representative of the United States, and especially the clarification that the action undertaken was limited in scope and duration. We hope that such a situation does not arise again and that the Government of Iraq will, once and for all, hear the outcry of the international community, that it will abstain from any acts of provocation, and that it will cooperate fully and in good faith with the demands made of it on various occasions by the Security Council.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no other names on the list of speakers.

No proposal on this item has been submitted on which the Security Council is required to take action. Therefore, I understand that the Council has thus concluded its consideration of the item before it.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

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28 June 1993

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York, on Monday, 28 June 1993, at 5.15 p.m.

President:	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO	(Spain)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. FUJITA
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. SHIGEIE
	Morocco	Mr. ZAHID
	New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. WALKER
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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The meeting was called to order at 5.15 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION BETWEEN IRAQ AND KUWAIT

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following documents: S/25905, letter dated 7 June 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/25963, letter dated 16 June 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has noted with particular concern the letter of 6 June 1993 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq to the Secretary-General (S/25905) concerning resolution 833 (1993).

"The Council recalls in this connection that the Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission did not reallocate territory between Kuwait and Iraq, but simply carried out the technical task necessary to demarcate the precise coordinates for the first time, on the basis of "The Agreed Minutes between the State of Kuwait and the Republic of Iraq regarding the Restoration of Friendly Relations, Recognition and Related Matters" signed by them on 4 October 1963, which were registered with the United Nations. The Council reminds Iraq that the Boundary Demarcation

(The President)

Commission acted on the basis of resolution 687 (1991) and the Secretary-General's report on implementing paragraph 3 of that resolution, both of which were formally accepted by Iraq. In its resolution 833 (1993), the Council reaffirmed that the decisions of the Commission were final, and demanded that Iraq and Kuwait respect the inviolability of the international boundary as demarcated by the Commission and the right to navigational access.

"The Council also reminds Iraq of its acceptance of resolution 687 (1991) of the Council, which forms the basis for the cease-fire. The Council wishes to stress to Iraq the inviolability of the international boundary between Iraq and Kuwait, demarcated by the Commission and guaranteed by the Council pursuant to resolutions 687 (1991), 773 (1992) and 833 (1993), and the serious consequences that would ensue from any breach thereof."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/26006.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.